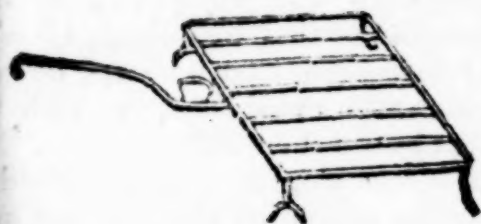


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## BOROUGH OF OLDHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

*Languard, Isle of Wight, 16th July, 1832.*

### READERS OF THE REGISTER,

I AM about to lay before you a piece of intelligence, not only more agreeable to you, but of more importance to us all, than any piece of public intelligence which has reached our ears for a long time past. It is this, that to a *certainty*, God being pleased to spare my life, and the peace of the country being preserved, the *certainty* of my being seated in the next Parliament, unless the present law be set aside before an election shall take place. This intelligence has been announced to me in a letter which I shall presently insert, and which I am sure you will read with the greatest satisfaction. I never had, and have not now, the smallest doubt in my own mind of being elected for MANCHESTER; and I have no doubt of being elected for PRESTON; but MANCHESTER is *too large* for the very best-informed persons to be able to speak upon the subject with that positiveness with which it is desirable to be able to speak when so much is at stake. For, it would be weakness, it would be in fact insincerity in me to affect not to regard my election as a matter of the very greatest importance to our whole country. However, I will defer making further remarks until I have inserted the letter to which I have alluded, and also my answer to that letter.

*Royton, Oldham, Lancashire, July 9, 1832.*

DEAR SIR,

From some circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I believe that

you have for some time past been aware that it was the intention of a portion of the electors of the borough of Oldham to put you in nomination for the said borough at the ensuing election. I now write to inform you, that some steps have been taken to carry that intention into effect, and to solicit your concurrence thereto. I am aware that it would have been more regular, and quite as decorous, to have written to you for your consent before your name was publicly announced as a candidate, but an unexpected canvass having commenced in Oldham, on behalf of Mr. WILLIAMS *the barrister*, and Mr. CREEVY (of Liverpool, I believe) another lawyer, left your friends no alternative but that of at once announcing your name along with that of some other gentleman of well-known liberal principles and sound political views. This has accordingly been done. The person with whom you are associated, is your very worthy and excellent friend Mr. JOHN FIELDEN of *Todmorden*. A deputation waited on that gentleman on Thursday last, respectfully requesting that he would allow himself to be put in nomination for this borough. He agreed on the condition, which he made very binding, *that you should be his colleague*, or, if not his colleague, *that you should be in Parliament for some other place, to represent which you might prefer to OLDHAM*; for he evidently felt, and fully stated, that he had an insuperable objection to the highly-responsible and arduous task of legislating for this country, in its present perilous condition, without you being in Parliament at the same time to aid, by your knowledge, talent, and experience, the carrying into effect those great measures which, in the estimation of almost all thinking men, are necessary to the political regeneration of our country by quiet and tranquil means.

At a meeting of a great number of the electors, held at the Albion Inn, Oldham, on Friday evening last, a resolution was

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passed that I should write to inform you of the foregoing particulars, and to request that you would formally announce your willingness to stand for the borough along with Mr. FIELDEN. A requisition to this gentleman was regularly presented on Saturday, signed by upwards of five hundred out of the twelve or fifteen hundred electors of the borough, all obtained the preceding day. I know not of course the numbers who have declared in favour of Mr. WILLIAMS and Mr. CREEVY, but from the flattering result of the hasty canvass in favour of yourself and Mr. FIELDEN, and the spirit generally shown by the electors, it is very probable that the canvass for those gentlemen has been decidedly unsuccessful.

Mr. FIELDEN's address to the electors is expected to be out to-morrow. I had once thought to have deferred writing to you till it was out, that a copy might have been enclosed, but it was, on further consideration, deemed advisable not to delay apprizing you of what was going on, that you might with all convenient dispatch regularly announce to the electors of the borough, your views and feelings on the subject.

Believe me to be, most respectfully,  
Yours,

WM. FITTON.

To William Cobbett, Esq.,  
Kensington, London.

#### ANSWER.

*Langward, Isle of Wight, 15th of July, 1832.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter of the 9th instant, stating that the people of the borough of Oldham have done me the honour to put me in nomination for that borough, and that I have the great additional honour of being put in nomination along with that humane, sincere, able, and upright man, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN.

Upon this occasion I have little else to do than to express the great gratitude I feel for the honour that has thus been done me; because I am very sure, that there is not one man in the borough, friend or foe, who is not convinced, that I, if elected, shall exert

every faculty of my mind to rescue the nation from the difficulties and the disgrace in which it is involved; and more especially to restore the working millions to the enjoyment of those rights and of that happiness, of which they have been, step by step, bereaved by men who made laws, not with their assent but in their defiance.

The sensible, the public-spirited, the generous people of OLDHAM are aware of my having been put in nomination for Manchester: they are aware, too, of the very strong probability of my being chosen for that borough; in which case, they are prepared for my being the representative of that borough. The full knowledge of all this adds greatly to the disinterestedness and generosity in this case, on their part. They are of opinion, that my services would be likely to be greatly beneficial to their country; and they have taken this step for the purpose of making sure of the means of enabling me to render these services; a proceeding, the merit of which can find an equal only in that of Mr. JOSHUA MILNE, of whose conduct I shall only say, that I should have expected it in a LANCASHIRE man, and in a man of no other country in the world.

I have only to repeat an expression of my gratitude for the great honour thus bestowed upon me, and to beg you, sir, to assure the people of OLDHAM, that, if there were wanted still a motive to exertion on my part, they have now created that motive in my breast.

To yourself, I beg to present my best thanks, and to say, that this announcement is the more gratifying, as having reached me through your hands. It is now fifteen years since I had the pleasure first to know you. We were brought together by a common desire to produce Parliamentary reform: we have both lived through all the persecutions that this crafty and cruel Government has been able to inflict upon us: I have always witnessed in you steadiness and prudence exemplary in the pursuit of just and rational ends; and I have accordingly always entertained and expressed towards you that



high degree of respect, to which you will now please to add the profound gratitude of,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. It is perhaps hardly worth while to notice Messrs. WILLIAMS and CREEVY: they are a couple of men sent down into Lancashire by the Whigs, in pursuance of that plan of *packing a Parliament*, which has now so manifestly been adopted, and which to a certainty will fail.

If the readers of the *Register*, all over the kingdom, knew Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, they would congratulate me that at last I had received more than ten thousand times a sufficient reward for all the injuries that I have had to endure at the hands of this savage Government, and from the stings of the base reptiles which it has been paying for more than six-and-twenty years for the purpose of destroying me. In the first place here is the greatest of, I believe, all the manufacturers in the kingdom; so that here is the lie given to that swarm of infamous wretches who have been employed to fill the foolish rich with fears with regard to the effects of my principles. Here is a man, one of four brothers who employ thousands of working people, and of owners of machinery to an extent quite immense. It is not on above ten different occasions that I have seen Mr. JOHN FIELDEN in the course of my life. I do not recollect that I ever received a letter from him, and I am sure that I never wrote to him in my life more than twice. That high opinion with which he honours me has been purely the result of reading my writings and observing my conduct.

But it is not the wealth, it is not the commercial greatness that makes me set so high a value on the good opinion of Mr. FIELDEN. This value, this high estimate of the worth of his good opinion is founded on the fact, a fact perfectly notorious, that he and his brothers are famed for their goodness to every creature who is in their employ; it is

founded on the knowledge that I myself have of the fact, that, let others do what they may, these gentlemen have preferred a little profit, and even no profit, to great gains from half starvation of the people from whose labour they derive those gains. This is the great title of Mr. FIELDEN to that admiration in which I hold him. I do not know that he has not many imitators in LANCASHIRE: but these facts I know of him and his brothers; I know that they deduct from the means of luxury, of show of every sort, of all sorts of things which the world calls pleasures, and which men are so prone to indulge in to the utmost of their power; I know that they deduct from these the means of making thousands of families comfortable. And as I deem it a great merit in myself to go, when I am travelling, without a dinner or a breakfast at an inn, that I may have to give the amount of the saving to some poor labourer on the road; as I deem this to be a great merit in me, how high is the estimate at which I must take the merit of the FIELDENS of TADMORDEN! And is not the honour of being chosen by such a man as Mr. JOHN FIELDEN as his colleague, I at three hundred miles from him at the same time; is not this more than a reward for all that the hellish borough-mongers and their base and bloody press have been able to inflict upon me and upon my family? In answer to my petition to the King for a restoration of the money which had been taken from me on the soldiers-flogging score, and which petition I published the other day; in answer to this petition I received, just before I left town, a letter from insolent and stupid MELBOURNE's clerk; not from himself: oh, no! that would have been beneath his dignity! The answer was, that the petition had been laid before the King; and that his Majesty had not been pleased to give any COM-MANDS upon it. He had not, had he? Had not had time to consider, perhaps? Several gentlemen have proposed to restore the money to me by subscription. I have, thanking them at the same time most sincerely, rejected the offer, being determined to have it in the right way,

or to lead those who keep it a life such as it is not very pleasant to lead. This announcement from OLDHAM, and especially accompanied with the circumstances relating to Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, is the reply which I give to LAMB's disdainful and insolent letter. In short, this affair at OLDHAM, and the manner of it as well as the matter of it, wipes away everything that infamous combination has been able to affix upon me.

Besides all the great honour which I feel conferred by such unqualified expressions of approbation and of confidence from a man of Mr. FIELDEN's great commercial importance and exemplary character and conduct as an employer, there are the great knowledge of public matters and the great talents of Mr. FIELDEN to be taken into view. Many of my readers will recollect that the people of Manchester did me the honour to give me a dinner in the month of *January* last. I have a great dislike to public dinners, and to all the toasts and interchange of compliments which generally arise out of them; but being pressed upon the subject, I gave my consent, upon condition that Mr. JOHN FIELDEN would consent to be the chairman, which I deemed a sufficient security that sense and sincerity would prevail. He consented; and, to the astonishment of us all, he made one of the finest speeches that I ever heard in the whole course of my life. All who knew him knew that his *knowledge* with regard to the causes of the country's distress was surpassed by that of no man: they all knew that he possessed the knowledge and the talent, but we all knew that his *diffidence* was such, that we thought it insurmountable. With very great composure, however, and without a single hesitation or repetition, he examined the great questions of the currency, of the banking schemes, of free trade, and of the corn-laws, with a degree of accuracy and of neatness, which, at the time, filled all my readers in every part of the kingdom with admiration. Here was an answer to all the vile creatures that were running about the country, telling the farmers that the

giving votes to the great towns in the North would be the *ruin of agriculture*, because these towns would send men to demand a repeal of the Corn Bill at once. Here was one, at least, of the greatest of all manufacturers, openly declaring, in the midst of the greatest manufacturing town in the kingdom, that, to repeal the Corn Bill, until the land had been relieved of its intolerable load of tithes and taxes, would not only be unjust and wicked in itself, and cruel in the last degree towards the persons engaged in agriculture, but that it would be greatly injurious to the manufacturers themselves, by so beggaring the millions engaged in cultivating the land, as to render them wholly unable to purchase the manufacturers' goods. Here was the answer to all these vile and stupid creatures, who represented the manufacturers as the enemies of the farmers. Soon after this dinner, Mr. FIELDEN, having been attacked, on account of his speech, by some of the paper-money tribe of MANCHESTER, published THREE LETTERS on the subject of his speech at the dinner. I see that Sir HENRY PARNELL is hammering away at his old work about Scotch banking. I beseech him to get, somehow or other, these THREE LETTERS of Mr. FIELDEN. If Sir HENRY be not too far gone, they will operate like the taking of the film from the eyes of a man who has been born blind. I read these letters in the *Manchester Advertiser*; they ought to have appeared in the *Register*; but they never did, owing, first, to my absence from home, and next, to the hubbub into which we were plunged about the Reform Bill. And here is another, and to me, who have so much experience with *authors*, a most striking instance of the greatness of mind and of the goodness of Mr. JOHN FIELDEN. I ought to have inserted the letters in the *Register*; it was a duty I owed to my readers; it would have been bare justice to the author. I have never before seen a man in my life, so circumstanced, who would not have taken measures to remind me of this duty. Yet not one word did I ever directly, or indirectly, hear from him or



any friend upon the subject. Nay, I have seen him since the publication of those letters, and do not recollect that he and I have ever said a word upon the subject. Where is there another man in the world who would not, under such circumstances, have felt something like offence, at being treated with such apparent neglect! I will, however, discharge this duty now, if Mr. Whittle will be so good as to send me up the papers containing the letters, which are particularly applicable to the present time, when all sorts of wild notions are afloat relative to those tremendous affairs, CURRENCY and BANKING.

Such, my friends, readers of the *Register*, is the man who will not consent to receive the great honour of being chosen, even by the sensible and public-spirited people of OLDHAM, unless on the express condition that I be chosen along with him, and that I sit for OLDHAM or some other place. Here, then, I stand before my country, recommended as the person best calculated to save it, by a PEER of great estates, and of still greater character; and by a MANUFACTURER, such as I have truly described. I should not conclude this article without stating that Mr. JOSHUA MILNE was thought by many of the electors to be a very proper person to represent the borough; that I have understood that his principles, his knowledge, his character, qualify him well for the important task; that I know, that he was personally active and zealous in causing justice to be done to the borough in the Reform Bill; and that I now am informed from a quarter other than that of Mr. FITTON, that, with all these fair pretensions for himself, Mr. MILNE made one of ten gentlemen who waited upon Mr. JOHN FIELDEN to request him to be put in nomination along with me. As I have said in my letter to Mr. FITTON, I know of no soil but that of Lancashire in which such men are apt to grow.

Let not the readers of the *Register* imagine that this most honourable proceeding has taken place on account of any dimness which has arisen in the prospects at MANCHESTER. It has arisen,

in the first place, from the persuasion that without me in the first reformed Parliament there will be no chance of any great change for the better; and that, therefore, to secure my return ought to be the first object. In the next place, the people of OLDHAM see, that, for me to be elected for more than one place, would give additional weight to all my words and propositions. They are most sincerely anxious that I should be elected for MANCHESTER; because they are aware of the great weight which that would give me; not with them; not with the reflecting people of LANCASHIRE, but with the millions who are not in Lancashire, nor near it, and who must, generally speaking, be swayed, in a great degree, by outward and visible impressions. From every thing that I hear, I regard my election at Manchester as certain: I laugh at the idea of the people of that town being prevailed upon to reject me for the sake of taking a *trafficker in the vile paper money*, who, if he had carried on his traffic in their days, the apostles and the ancient fathers of the church would have ordered him and his tables to be flung into the street, as their GREAT MASTER ordered the money-changers and their tables to be flung out of the temple; who, if his traffic had been observed by St. AMBROSE, would have been told by him that that was not *property* which he called his, but the "*goods of the poor*," which he had squeezed out of their sweat and blood; who, if St. CHRYSOSTOM had observed his ways, would have been told, that he was the man pointed out by HOSEA, *chapter xii. verse 7*: "He is a *merchant*, the *balances of deceit* are in his hands; he *loveth to oppress*;" for this holy father, and most profound statesman, would have told him, that every man who made a profit by any traffic; who got money by a transaction which *created nothing good to man*; which changed the nature of no goods; which conveyed no goods to one part distant from another, that every such man who made a profit by merely changing money, by merely shifting money or goods from

hand to hand, was a "merchant," according to the description of HOSEA; that he was an "oppressor," and a "despoiler of the poor." This is what St. CHRYSOSTOM would have called this man who calls himself a banker: while MOSES's law, and every christian law, from the Gospel of St. LUKE down to the common law of England, would have told him that he was an USURER; and that usury does not mean taking more than *five per cent.*; but that it means taking anything at all in the shape of interest for money; and that every per centage and that every discount is an act of open violation of the precepts of CHRIST and his apostles. The banker would tell us, that the law allows him to take discount; and allows him to get rich by merely signing and shifting about bits of paper, without doing any one thing good to man. Aye, and it seems, that the law is likely to allow, very soon, the dead bodies of the poor to be sold: the law allows a great many things: it allows justices of the peace to transport men for having the dead body of a hare in their possession. The law allows this pretty Government to take two thousand five hundred a-year out of our pockets, and to pay it in a pension to BURKE, who has been dead three-and-thirty years. The law has allowed Lady JULIANA HOBHOUSE and old mother FOX and her two daughters, to take a pretty many thousands out of our pockets in the shape of pensions. The law allowed VAUGHAN and the rest of them to hang HENRY COOK of MICHELDEVER, for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm! Poh, then! Banker LLOYD! don't tell us what the law allows you to do, while by both Testaments, by those great law-givers, the fathers of the church, and by every christian law, your traffic is condemned. Tell us not of "your and your family's connexion with MANCHESTER;" but tell us of what you have ever done for MANCHESTER. Tell us what work you have ever done; what wages you have ever paid to useful working people. In short, all that MANCHESTER knows of you is this, that you have risen from

poverty to riches in Manchester, and that the working people of MANCHESTER have constantly been growing poor and more miserable, whilst you have been growing rich and spreading yourself out in splendour; and every man of sense can now see, that this poverty and misery have principally arisen from your unchristian traffic, and the traffic of others of the same stamp.

Now, I am not to be persuaded that the people of MANCHESTER will choose a man like this on any account. They must see clearly that the measures which their welfare demands would be instant destruction to his traffic; they must see that the system must remain just what it is, in order, not only to perpetuate his traffic, but also to prevent inquiry into the past relative to that traffic; and let all the grinding usurers of every description, beware. If they be prudent they will now be still. Silence and retirement may possibly obtain that oblivion of their deeds which malignant hostility to the rights of the people would prevent. Their oppressions are clearly understood; and if they now render themselves conspicuous in opposing the rights of the people, let them remember that they are promised in the prophet AMOS, "a turning of their feasting into mourning, and of their songs into lamentations."

However, it is useless to waste one's time upon this man. I set it down as impossible that any portion of the people of MANCHESTER can be found to vote for a barefaced, notorious money-changer like this. From PRESTON I have not heard lately; nor from DUDLEY; but to the people of those places I beg leave to observe, that though they were certain of my being elected elsewhere, they would act wisely and patriotically in electing me; because, by so doing, they add greatly to my power of serving the country, and they do no possible harm to themselves, but, on the contrary, good, because they gain time and experience, and they have still the seat in their hands. Suppose, for instance, Mr. WM. EAGLE, Mr. THOMAS SMITH of LIVERPOOL, or Mr. WHITTLE of MANCHESTER, or Mr. PADDISON of



**LOURN**, a better or more able man than whom I do not know. Suppose either of these to be without a seat, there would be a seat, or, at any rate, there would be the seat as there was before, for the electors to dispose of as they please.

Besides my natural dislike to affectation at all times, it would be scandalous insincerity in me to affect to believe that my return to Parliament, with all the weight which the nation is able to give me, is not of the greatest importance to the country. To affect not to see this is a sort of hypocrisy of which I am not capable. I am satisfied in my own mind that the regeneration of the political state of the country would not take place; and that instead of regeneration, anarchy and confusion would come, were I not to be in the first reformed Parliament; there being no man in whom the people have that confidence in his judgment that they have in mine, in the proportion of a thousand to one in my favour; that is to say, that there are a thousand men who have great confidence in my judgment, where there is one man who has the same confidence in anybody else. I am not pretending that I *possess* this superiority of judgment to this degree, or in any degree at all. In a case like this, your capacity to do good depends almost entirely in the belief of your having that capacity. I have named no man as fit to be a member of Parliament who has not great capacity of that kind; and I could name others nearer to myself, but here is this singular thing belonging to me, that I am *known*, more or less, to every rational creature in the kingdom; my enemies are the trumpeters of my talents. All men know that I want nothing for myself or for anybody belonging to me. All men are well acquainted with my wonderful capacity to labour, and the still more wonderful extent and variety of my knowledge; and there is this further singularity, which, I believe, was never before the lot of man; that, somehow or another, by the means of my various writings, by the means of my travellings all over England, by the means of those persecutions which I have had to

undergo, and which I have undergone with such signal fortitude; by one means or another it has become written down upon the heart of every working man in England and Scotland and Ireland, too, that I am his sincere, zealous, kind and compassionate friend. A long undeviating course; a course of thirty-two long years, unbroken by one moment of relaxation in my efforts in behalf of the working people, has produced this belief which it is no more possible to root from the minds of the people than it is possible to root out natural affection from their hearts; and it would be as impossible to persuade any half-a-hundred of the working people in England, or in any part of the kingdom, that I would make use of any power that I possessed to their injury; it would be as impossible to persuade them to believe this as to persuade them that there is neither sun nor moon.

Well, then, my very name is worth a great deal to the nation: my bare name might be *peace* amongst the millions; who would only have to learn that I possessed power to do them good, to be sure that the good would come. I have viewed myself in this light for many years past. I have always cherished the hope of being able to still those waves which I foresaw would swell up, and which I know must swell up, though everything that can be done may be done to prevent it. Disturbance, and such disturbance too, never took place in such a mass of property and of all human possessions, without producing terrible shocks previous to their adjustment. Mr. JOHN FIELDEN expresses his belief that my presence in Parliament is necessary to the peaceable re-adjustment. I have long been of that opinion myself. Low motives of lucre never even came athwart my mind: I should turn from my own offspring with anger, if I had ever discovered the smallest particle of such motive looking in them: to my end I must come, no very distant day: let me come to the first seeing my country rescued from that horrible state in which it has persisted to plunge it, and I shall be amply paid for all my toils.



again, I conjure those who are anywhere assembled together, and are able to choose me as a member of Parliament, to do it for the reasons before-mentioned; seeing clearly, as I think they must, that nothing but good to themselves and their country can arise from such a proceeding. I think that the people of PRESTON ought to elect me as one of their members. I think this on every account. I do not want to obtrude upon them any of my opinions with regard to anybody else. Nothing done towards me by anybody has ever, for one single moment, diminished the real regard and affection that I had and have for them. I have never forgotten the manner in which they took their leave of me after the combined scoundrels had defeated us in 1826. I have never forgotten that; my sons have talked of it from that day to this. Nothing that any of them have said of me since has ever made me angry: I have only had to call to mind, which I always have done, their zeal, their disinterestedness, their devotion, their voluntary sufferings for me in 1826; I have only had these, the equal of which, I believe, was never witnessed out of Lancashire; I have only had these to call to my recollection, to obliterate at once from my mind, everything that any of them may have uttered since that time in the way of hostility to me. I have heard particularly that Mr. IRVIN has said ill-natured things. Nothing on earth shall make me speak ill of Mr. IRVIN. So much goodness as he showed me in 1826, does not admit of being obliterated from my mind.

I say all this *now*, because the seat for PRESTON is not *necessary* to my being in Parliament. I very anxiously wish to be elected for PRESTON; not only for the sake of the weight that it would give me, but for the gratification of my feelings, in which I think, it will not be deemed unreasonable, if I think that I ought in this case to be indulged: but still more I wish it for the gratification of the feelings of so large a part, and the virtuous part, too, of the people of PRESTON. Were I chosen for PRE-

TON, MANCHESTER, and OLDHAM, I should certainly, for all the reasons before given, take MANCHESTER; if for OLDHAM and PRESTON and not MANCHESTER, I should take OLDHAM, OLDHAM having been the first to give me a formal invitation; but I would sit for PRESTON in preference to all the other places in the kingdom, those two excepted. I am determined to rouse up the *western division of the county of Surrey*, which is my own native county. Perhaps I shall offer myself there; but if chosen there, it should be with the previous clear understanding, that I should give the preference to MANCHESTER, OLDHAM, and PRESTON.

I have never thought of the squabbles at PRESTON without great uneasiness. The squabbles are about nothing after all. If I could have staid there another week last winter, I would have put an end to the squabbling one way or another. I never have been a party in the squabbling, and I never will. No man has ever heard one word from my lips, one word in disparagement of any of the good fellows of PRESTON. I hope that they will be reunited most cordially; that they will on no account let the old enemy into the camp; and I pray them to take from me this observation, that it is true as holy writ, that he who is the *last* to consent to be reconciled is generally the *most in fault*; and that he who has been the *least* in error is generally the *first* to forgive. Injuries are sometimes so deep that reconciliation on the part of the offended would be baseness; but these are not injuries of that sort; and let me therefore hope, that in this day of the dawn of our restoration to liberty, no cloud of contention will be found to hang over PRESTON. This is a matter very near to my heart; and I hope that what I have said may tend to produce the desired reconciliation. But be that as it may, deeply as I may lament the failure of my advice, nothing, as long as I have the power of doing any good, shall ever prevent me from doing all the good in my power to the people of PRESTON.

WM. COBBETT.



**PUDDLE IN A STORM ;**  
**OR,**  
**KING TOM IN HIS TANTRUMS.**

*To the young Men and working People  
of Birmingham.*

*Languard, Isle of Wight, 17th July, 1832.*

**MY FRIENDS,**

I have lying before me a publication entitled as follows : " The Substance of " the extraordinary Proceedings at the " Birmingham Political Council, on " Tuesday evening, July 3, on the Sub- " ject of PLEDGES intended to be taken " from the Candidates for Birmingham ; " Mr. Attwood's Condemnation of the " proposing the same." This publica- tion is printed by Mr. J. Russell, No. 21, Moor-street, Birmingham, and it gives me the following information.

Some days previous to the 3d of July, the Birmingham Council appointed a committee to take into consideration and to report, with respect to the pledges which ought to be given by any candidate for the representation of the borough of Birmingham. It appears that the Council met on the 4th of July to receive the report ; and it is the published account of what took place on that occasion which has induced me to give the above title to this article ; for if ever puddle in a storm, rolling about its own little dirt, trembling and quivering and bubbling up as far as its shallowness would allow ; if ever this ludicrous appellation, together with the other mock-heroic designation, representing nothingness as assuming sovereign power, and setting, while in a passion, all decency at defiance ; if ever the use of these two appellations were justifiable, as applied to the conduct of the same person, the application of them is justifiable here ; and this will be the opinion of every one of my readers, from the north of Scotland to this most southern spot on which I am now writing. I am sorry that Mr. Attwood should have behaved thus ; I am sincerely sorry for it ; because he has done some good things. It is impossible I can be actuated on this occasion by any bad motive. He has nothing in him

for me to envy. I have no ambition that is not to be amply gratified. He does not come athwart my views in any way whatsoever ; and I cannot be actuated by any motive other than that of a sense of duty towards my country, in the making of this exposure of him.

The pledges which the committee proposed for the adoption of the Council were as follows :

1. " To inquire into the general distress of the country, and cause the adoption of adequate remedies with the least possible delay."
2. " The total abolition of tithes, and the separation of church and state."
3. " A repeal of the assessed taxes, stamp taxes, the taxes which obstruct the extension of knowledge, and all others that diminish the happiness and morality of the people."
4. " To support a revision of the corn-laws, and to abolish every tax imposed upon the necessities of life."
5. " To abolish all sinecures, unmerited places and pensions, and to limit the public expenditure to the lowest amount, consistent with a due regard to an efficient system of constitutional government."
6. " To support all efforts for the abolition of colonial slavery."
7. " To require the repeal of the Septennial Act, the extension of the suffrage to all householders, and the removal of every property qualification."
8. " To support every legislative effort made to extend the liberty and promote the happiness of the nation."

These were the pledges proposed, and we are now going to see how they stirred up the PUDDLE ; how they drew forth the latent views of the king of the Council. The first of these pledges, you will please to observe, was the very pledge which Mr. Attwood himself, as chairman of the Council, promulgated as necessary to put to all candidates ; and observed, that in that same " ORDER IN COUNCIL " he graciously permitted all electors all over the kingdom to put " *what other pledges they pleased.*" But when this report was made, and all these eight pledges

were proposed to be put to the candidates for *Birmingham*, then the puddle began to swell. There is nothing in these pledges which can be objected to by any man who means to do his duty by the people; but, at any rate, they did not justify Mr. Attwood, in representing, as THE DARKEST OF VILLAINS, the man to whom he thought proper to ascribe the invention of the pledges. This my readers will find him doing; and they will find him guilty of injustice and audacity such as never were witnessed, except in the corruptest of boroughmongers and the corruptest of their tools. I have to observe here, that the Birmingham Political Council, holds its meetings in a large room, and that the members of the Union are admitted to be hearers and spectators of their proceedings. This observation is necessary, in order to account for some part of the transactions that is here recorded. I now insert the published account, begging my readers to go through it with attention, and then to be so good as to attend to my remarks upon the subject.

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**IMPORTANT and EXTRAORDINARY!**  
**PROCEEDINGS OF THE BIRMINGHAM**  
**POLITICAL COUNCIL.—TUESDAY, JULY**  
**4TH, 1832.**

At nearly eight o'clock, Mr. ATTWOOD, the Chairman, being absent, Mr. MUNTZ was called to the chair; and, after some formal business, the report from the committee was read on the subject of the pledges proper to be taken by the candidates that might offer themselves to represent the borough of Birmingham in Parliament.

Mr. PARR moved that the report be received. This, after some desultory observations, was agreed to. A question then arose as to whether it was advisable to proceed with the pledges, or to discuss and decide whether any pledges should be taken or not.

Mr. PERRY spoke against taking any pledges at all. (Great disapprobation from the body of the members of the Union, accompanied with hisses.)

Mr. B. HADLEY, with great warmth, here mounted the seat of his chair, and

requested, "for God's sake," that such conduct on the part of the members of the Union might not be repeated. The Council, it was true, was the creation of those members; yet nevertheless he must say, that, in this instance, their behaviour was most unmanly and improper, to endeavour to overawe its deliberations by such a disorderly expression of feeling. He was aware they could not always control their feelings, by the *approbation*, from time to time, they were too ready to bestow upon the different speakers. He said *to ready*, because he considered such applause an interruption to business; and silence, therefore, on their parts, would become them much better, and he thought would tend more to the interests of them all; but *hisses* were intolerable, and he most earnestly requested that such a course of clamouring down an individual might not be repeated. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. PERRY then proceeded. He did not mind being hissed: he rather courted it, if an honest expression of opinion could not be exercised without such insult. This, probably, would be the last time he should give an opinion before them; but now he would say that he considered pledges wholly useless,—they shackled a representative without any sufficient advantage being derived in return. "Look clearly," said Mr. Perry, "at all the conduct of a candidate's political career; that, I take it, is the securest course to be followed—the sure, the true method of guarding against fraud. And I must further add, that as regards 'the Father of the Union,' and the two gentlemen candidates for the borough of Birmingham—tried and proved 'good men and true,'—I say, that for us to demand *more* pledges of these men, is nothing better than vile ingratitude on our part, and in the highest degree insulting to them." (Applause.)

Mr. PARR and others considered the policy of taking pledges very useful in a general view, though perhaps not necessary in Birmingham; but if recommended for adoption by the country at large, it would come with a bad grace



from Birmingham to make their own town an exception. The question was put and carried with only one (Mr. Perry) dissentient.

The first pledge was then read from the chair.

Mr. JONES thought this pledge was anything rather than well worded: it was too general; in its present state he could not agree to it, and he should therefore move as an amendment, "That he (the candidate) would support a thorough investigation into the tithe system, with a view to the more beneficial application to its income." He did this partly to prevent mistake. Some might think it was intended to go back again to the Catholic church; this was not his view, nor did he think the application of tithes under that church could be again returned to; therefore to leave the subject open to the legislature, he begged to move the above amendment.

Mr. EDMONDS had no objection to the pledge; but he did not think it of that importance attached to it. Like my Lord BROUGHAM, who, when pledges were required from him at the York election, he thought the people were not always the best judges of their political wants. He would answer any questions put to him by an elector, in the most candid way; but to tie a representative down by positive instructions on important subjects, he did not think the most politic and beneficial course for the people themselves.

Mr. PERRY wished to know what they would do with the value of the tithes, provided they were abolished? Was the amount to go into the pockets of the landlords? If so, this would be a spoliation of property—a wild transfer from one person to another, without any national advantage whatever. Seven or eight thousand pounds were given for the tithes of Aston parish a short time ago. If tithes were abolished wholesale, this and similar property would be taken from one set of proprietors, who paid for it, and given to another—the landlords, without any equivalent whatever.

Mr. SALT, as churchwarden, wished

to say a few words upon tithes. (A laugh.) As the resolution originally stood, he thought no man, with *three grains* of sense, could agree to it. Tithes were a species of property, and, if looked into for a time, like all other property, the title would be found bad. (Applause.) To adopt the pledge as it stood would be to make one set of people rich at the expense of another. This he could not sanction. He must first see how the people were to be benefited by the proposed change, which he thought most likely to be accomplished by, and should therefore vote for, the amendment.

Mr. HADLEY supported an amendment of the original motion. He wished tithes to be restored to their three-fold application, namely, to support the poor, repair the churches, and the last third for the income of the priest. Thus it was in the time of The Eighth Harry, and to that practice he, for one, should like to see the produce of tithes restored.

[At this point of the discussion, Mr. ATTWOOD entered the council-room, and was warmly greeted.]

Mr. BIDDLE liked the original resolution best. To sweep them all away at once was the most effectual, and he thought the best course. (Laughter.) Some confusion then followed relative to the pledges.

Mr. ATTWOOD requested the chairman to read the pledge under discussion, which being done, Mr. A., in a strain of indignation, declared his perfect *surprise* and utter *disgust* that such a course should have been adopted. It would be disgraceful to adopt any such tests—it showed a mean dastardly suspicion—which was likely to destroy the Union, and clearly proved that there was treachery in the camp. No true friend to freedom could have resolved on such a plan. It was calculated to break down the strength of the Union in the eyes of the country, by showing plainly that they had not confidence amongst themselves. In this view it could not be too highly deprecated. He first heard of these pledges on his return from London. He was much

surprised—nay, extremely disgusted, and could scarcely believe what he had heard. But, if it were true, he felt it must have been the work of an enemy to the Union, and was inclined to believe that the dirty *Court Leet* had been at work to break up their union, by sowing distrust and spreading foul suspicions amongst them. He knew not if that junta were at the bottom of the business. On his inquiry, however, another person had avowed himself a party in this work. That person, he doubted not, conceived himself to be a sincere friend to the liberties of the people; but he (Mr. A.) believed him to be a rash and indiscreet man. The person he alluded to was Mr. Russell. Had he (Mr. A.) taken that person's advice, no reform would have been carried in England. Mr. Russell was one of those reformers who, with great zeal but very little judgment, rushed forward to his object regardless of consequences. He would run his head against a wall or jump into a draw-well rather than accommodate his impracticable principles to circumstances. Mr. Russell advised him (Mr. Attwood) at the commencement of the Union, to demand universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, and the ballot—objects utterly impracticable in the then state of things; though Mr. Russell—who was a kind of ancient IAGO—thought otherwise. This subject of pledges, and confined to Birmingham as it expressly is by the report before us, shows such a want of confidence on the part of the Union in its confidential leaders, that it lacerates the tenderest feelings of my heart! Do my past services, my friends, deserve so unkind a return? Look at the whole of my political life, then tell me if it merit your esteem. Ever have I felt the strongest attachment to the liberties of my country, the welfare of my native town, and this Union in particular;—your demanding a pledge from me, therefore, wounds me to the quick. But no, no; you could not mean this. (Enthusiastic cheers and clapping of hands.) Mr. A. then went on to say that, with respect to the pledges personally, he had little objection to any

of them, and should act in conformity with their object. It was their believing these pledges to be essential in *Birmingham* that annoyed him. There were three candidates for that borough—Mr. EDMONDS, Mr. SCHOFIELD, and the humble individual who then addressed them. Did not the past years of their political lives sufficiently guarantee their future integrity? To take pledges from such men,—notwithstanding he might be charged with egotism,—he would say, was to “gild refined gold, “to paint the lily—to throw a perfume “o’er the violet!” Then were such men to be catechised by “TAG-RAG and BOBTAIL?” (!!!)—(Applause; but mingled with some disapprobation.)

Mr. JOHN GILES, evidently much excited, here rose, and said it was with great pain he had listened to the long and unjust accusations of their worthy chairman. With respect to the committee who had drawn up the proposed pledges, he could answer for every member of it that no insult was intended, neither was any suspicion felt as to the integrity of Mr. Attwood, Messrs. Schofield and Edmonds. As to the gentleman so personally alluded to, and so positively and opprobriously stigmatized, he was *not* the author of the pledges; and, therefore, most undeserving the censure and ridicule so sedulously heaped upon him. Pledges had been deemed necessary by many persons, and he (Mr. G.) was amongst those who were in favour of them. He wished to say, and with as much respect as was consistent with independence, that, in his opinion, in addition to personal allusions, Mr. Attwood had scattered his random shots on all around him, reckless as to the effect of his oratorical artillery. It was with extreme difficulty that he (Mr. G.) kept his determination of not quitting the field of action till, like a stout soldier, he had proved to his leader that he had wounded a firm and constant friend.

Mr. ATTWOOD—“I see my words have had an effect upon you: you are not the man for whom they were intended.”

M. PARE said he was as much asto-



nished as Mr. Giles at the reprobation of the chairman, and likewise felt that no share of blame could rest upon him or any member of the committee; they had only discharged their duty in obedience to a delegation from the Council itself; and as regarded the propriety of pledges, the chairman himself had set the example, by requiring a pledge upon one particular point—that of the distress of the country; and it did appear most strange that he should denounce others for framing pledges more specific. “Distress” was so indefinite, that, in his opinion, even a Tory, putting his own construction upon it and its remedy, might leave the thing, after inquiry, in as bad a state as before. This would not be the case with pledges to redress specific injuries, such as the Septennial Act and the alliance between church and state. Thinking this, he must confess himself an advocate for the proposed pledges, notwithstanding the strongly marked manner in which they had been reprobated.

Mr. HADLEY with much energy observed, that although he felt a respect for their chairman greater than for any other friend or relative in the world, scarcely excepting his own father, yet he (Mr. H.) must differ with the chairman on this particular subject. Mr. H. then read the pledge above-mentioned relative to the distress of the country, which very pledge had not only been dictated to the Council by Mr. Attwood, but his own words were, “require as many more pledges as you may think fit;” and yet Mr. A. was not only surprised but *disgusted* that they should ask for pledges! Assuredly the chairman could never have intended this pledge to hold good, or, if so, his indignant warmth, which never till that night he had witnessed, must have entirely stripped him of all power of retrospection. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ATTWOOD—“My objection to pledges applies only to Birmingham.”

Mr. SALT was very *savoury* in a laconic but humorous endeavour to conciliate matters; and, not only from the light yet admirable style in which his good efforts

were executed, but from the excellent feeling which prompted him to such a praiseworthy essay, which ultimately had the intended effect, he must by no means pass unnoticed. He reminded one of Liston double refined, or of a laughing philosopher.

Mr. EDMONDS felt surprised at some expressions of the chairman; yet he was not at all hurt or uneasy, believing that all will end in a satisfactory explanation. He had heard all that had passed with perfect composure, and only regretted that the time had not been better employed.

Mr. MUNTZ said he was not likely to become a member of Parliament. He must confess he could not see the vast utility of pledges, unless, indeed, we could make a man keep his pledge. But the pledge said to have been proposed by Mr. Attwood, he considered most extensive in its effect yet so simple in detail, that no candidate could refuse to take it, and consequently more effective than all those now proposed put together.

Mr. JONES was of his opinion. The general pledge concerning “distress,” he thought preferable on the ground that it did not let out particulars which would be better concealed. He should now propose that the further discussion of the question be adjourned.

Mr. ATTWOOD, before the question was put, requested to explain, saying that he by no means wished to have accused the members of the Council with having entertained a wish to annoy him, and felt sorry that it had been so interpreted. It was his duty and interest to conciliate all classes; believing as he did that he should be one of the members for Birmingham, he wished to lay upon those who were to use influence a gentle hand to hold the scales even between all parties and be just to all men; with such feelings and a determination not to disgrace by his future conduct his previous professions, he did hope at some future time to enjoy the confidence and secure the support of all parties. The motion of adjournment was then put and carried.—Mr. Attwood said he had received a note from Mr. Russell

who desired to explain in a few words, and as he had so pointedly mentioned his name he thought it right to afford him a hearing. Mr. Muntz, who was quitting the chair, said, he hoped some one else would take it, and then, the meeting could hear Mr. Russell as long as it thought fit.

Mr. EDMONDS protested against this. Mr. Muntz had presided during the accusation, and it was but fair to hear the defence.

Mr. MUNTZ resumed the chair. Mr. Russell then rose and said he conceived as a matter of right and not as a favour he was entitled to explain; this he would do briefly. It was not true that the business of the pledges which had given so much offence, were his; on the contrary, they were the act of Mr. Attwood's colleagues, who by a resolution at the public meeting had caused a deputation to attend the Council on the subject. If the pledges had been his it would only have entitled him to more credit, for he firmly believed it was patriotic to demand such security, and as an elector he had done his duty in starting such a plan and getting all he could to support him in it. Mr. Attwood had strongly reprobated his conduct without adequate cause, true it was he opposed "tooth and nail" Mr. Attwood's darling paper-money, believing that baneful agent to have produced wealth in masses, and want, destitution, and extreme wretchedness amongst starving millions; the immense debt that now oppresses the industrious classes could not have been contracted otherwise than by paper; to such a system he should be a most uncompromising opponent. Mr. Attwood should remember that extreme popularity was frequently in a short time changed for an adverse situation. It would be more just to limit his reprobation within bounds, and not as on the present occasion launch out to such an extent against a person who had done no more than differ in opinion on the best method of securing political improvements; but this was not the first time he had witnessed, in that very room, honest politicians unjustly vituperated; the leaders of that excellent association

in London, "the Union of the Working Classes," had been so condemned on the very day that a jury of their countrymen awarded them a triumphant acquittal; it was the "fast-day rioters," as they were insultingly called, to whom he alluded, the trial of those enlightened poor men was printed; and let their proud oppressors and calumniators refute their arguments and invalidate their reasoning if they could, but if, as he Mr. R. believed they could not do this, let them prepare to ensure social happiness by conceding their rights to injured millions who would not much longer be kept out of them—to such men as Hetherington and Lovett, who bravely withstood the tyrannical militia laws, it was that he looked to see justice done to the industrious classes, and not by the issue of a fictitious paper: he could not conclude without stating the pain he felt at the avowal of Mr. Edmonds, that he was quite at ease and heard with composure the observations of Mr. Attwood, knowing as Mr. Edmonds did how undeserved they were. Had Mr. Edmonds been the subject of attack and placed in similar circumstances to him, he (Mr. R.) could have made no such declaration, but however unequal to the task would have endeavoured to rebut such undeserved calumny.

Mr. EDMONDS explained. He saw Mr. Russell was present, and felt satisfied that he would, as he now had done, become his own advocate.

Upon receiving this publication, which reached me in this island on the 15th of July, I thought it my duty to make known my disapprobation of the conduct of Mr. Attwood, as quickly as I possibly could. The quickest means appeared to be to write to Mr. Russell, and to authorise him to publish my letter if he chose. I did this immediately, and I have sent him off my letter by post. I will now insert that letter, and to that I will add such other observations, as it appears to me proper to make upon this occasion.



TO MR. J. RUSSELL, PRINTER,  
BIRMINGHAM.

*Isle of Wight, 15th of July, 1832.*

SIR,—I have read an account of the proceedings in the Birmingham Political Union on Tuesday evening, July 3, on the subject of pledges. It is very curious that I should have been writing my remarks on the addresses of Mr. ATTWOOD and Mr. SCHOFIELD (which remarks appeared in the *Register* of the 7th of July) at the very moment when the proceedings in the Council were going on! It is very curious that, at the very identical moment, when I was putting into print the most substantial reasons why Mr. ATTWOOD's *past life* ought not to exempt him from giving pledges, he should have been representing the asking of a pledge from him to be like "*gilding refined gold—painting the lily—throwing perfume over the violet*"!!! Curious, indeed, that he should have been uttering this piece of poetical presumption, at the very moment when I was referring to sedate publications of his own, showing, that of all men in the world, he was the very last to plead an exemption from pledges.

But, sir, the tone of the whole of Mr. ATTWOOD's speech, is such as to make one almost believe that flattery, uniting with conceit, has puffed him up to a degree of pride bordering upon madness. The name of IAGO, applied to you, and by name too, appears to me to be one of the most atrocious attacks ever made in the world, merely on account of the difference in political opinion. IAGO (an invention of the mind of SHAKESPEARE) seeks the destruction of his generous superior: seeks also the destruction of that superior's innocent wife; secretly stabs another innocent man; and accomplishes the destruction of a whole house, purely out of revenge, because his interested views had been thwarted. And you were to be exhibited in this light before your townsmen, merely because you had proposed to put pledges to Mr. ATTWOOD, as a candidate for representing that town!

By the date of this letter you will per-

ceive that I am at a distance from my books. I shall not return home for a fortnight; and there is no likelihood of my being able to refer to Mr. ATTWOOD's pamphlets before I do return home. I should suppose that all his pamphlets are easily to be found at Birmingham. If he act a fair part, he will produce them to you at once. In a pamphlet, published about eight years ago, and which, I have some notion, was addressed to the paper-money Baronet, Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, you will find Parliamentary reform represented as the ground-work of spoliation and plunder, and the reformers very little better than a set of would-be felons. In another pamphlet, published in 1828, or 1829, you will find him asserting that Parliamentary reform, if it took place *before his little shilling scheme should be adopted*, must of necessity be productive of a total breaking up of society, and of misery without limit and without end: yet he has been calling for reform for more than two years, without at all coupling it with his little shilling project. A man so fickle, a man so vehement in his fickleness too, ought not to call his neighbour IAGO, merely because he wishes to hold him steady by the help of a pledge. It is indeed, modest in such a man to compare himself to "*refined gold*," to the "*lily*," and to the "*violet*!" "*Lily*" and "*violet*" as he is, I trust that the spirited young men and the working people of Birmingham, will take care that he shall not have the name of their representative, unless "*refined gold*" as he is, he will submit to the giving of pledges.

Besides, sir, was he not chairman when the Council agreed to recommend to every body of electors in the kingdom, to exact from candidates a pledge "to inquire into the causes of the national distress?" Was he not chairman upon this occasion? What right then has he to complain of the principle of pledges? But further, was he not chairman of the Council, when the Council issued an invitation to every reformer in the kingdom, to give, *under his hand*, a pledge the most solemn that he would do everything in his power to

prevent the Duke of WELLINGTON from ever becoming minister again? So, here is a lump of "*refined gold*," here is a "*lily*," here is a "*violet*," calling upon every body else to take pledges, and to sign them too, while it becomes puddle in a storm, and calls people IAGO, when called upon to take a pledge itself! There was a Mr. PERRY, it appears, present upon this occasion, who seems to be a person of wonderful profundity; for he could not see what was to become of the value of tithes if they were abolished. He seemed to think that the *landlords* would get the whole amount of tithes that the parsons would. Now, there should be somebody, some little girl or boy, in the neighbourhood of Mr. PERRY, to tell him, that when the lands of a country are burdened generally with tithes, if you take the tithe from one farm and leave it on the rest, that farm will rise in rent above the rest in consequence of taking off the tithe; but that if you take the tithes from the whole of the farms at once, no such consequence can follow; because you cannot make thereby an augmentation of the whole of the farming capital; you cannot bring in capital to be applied to the whole of the land, as there would be capital brought in and applied in a single instance; so that, in fact, the landlord would only share in the benefit of the abolition in common with the rest of the community. Is Mr. PERRY weak enough to imagine, that the tithes are now so much *of cost to the farmer*? Is he so weak as to suppose, that a sack of wheat does not go to market loaded with tithes; and cannot he see, that the consumer of a loaf pays his share of the tithe? These are strange notions of Mr. PERRY: notions that one would expect from a washerwoman, and not from *the member of a council*!

The truth is, and this the farmers and labourers know well, let the farmer keep that which he now gives the parson, and he has more money to pay wages with, and the labourer is better off than he is now. The whole community would share in the benefit; the landlord amongst the rest, but only in a proper and just degree. In conclusion, sir, I

cannot help expressing my sorrow at perceiving that my forebodings, with regard to the BIRMINGHAM UNION are so manifestly likely to be verified. That it has been an instrument in the hands of the Whig Ministry ever since the 13th of April, is now but too clear to every body. I mean as far as regarded some of the leaders of it. If pledges had been suggested by the Ministry, my opinion is, that the giving of them would have been urged by the Council. The Ministry are dreadfully hostile to pledges; and, therefore, the Council is hostile to pledges. The reformers of Birmingham must beat the Council, or that great and public-spirited town will sink into the same state of disregard as that in which the Council itself now is.

I shall publish this letter in the next *Register*: you may do it sooner if you please. You are an utter stranger to me; but I resent the unjust and insolent treatment that you have received; and

I remain,

Your faithful and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

With regard to the immediate transaction before us, very little more need be said. The conduct of Mr. Attwood is so at once despicable and hateful: his calling his neighbour and brother councillor IAGO, merely because he differed from him in political opinion; his comparing himself to refined gold; his giving to himself the purity of the lily and the incomparable sweetness of the violet; these things would mark him out for the scorn and the abhorrence of his neighbours, it being impossible for a man, however blinded he may be, not to behold here the excess of the vanity of vanities mixed up with malignity, such as one would hardly suppose to inhabit the bosom of a fiend. But, I remember well David Williams's horrible picture of vanity: he called it the vice of vices; he said that the vain man was never to be trusted; the proud you had some guard against; the perfidious even might be held off by precaution; but that the vain man became perfidiously cruel, any thing to gratify his vanity or to obtain vengeance upon



those who thwarted it. To have called Mr. Russell devil, would have been mere vulgar abuse; but to call him Iago, was to call him in one short word *traitor, murderer*, and every thing of the most wicked belonging to the human heart; and this, merely because he suspected Mr. Russell to have been the suggester of pledges, which he could not give, without thwarting the views of his inordinate vanity.

I trust that there is justice enough prevailing in the breasts of the people of Birmingham, to make them show their detestation of conduct so truly diabolical. I am aware of some obstacles that may be in the way of exercising public virtue, even in a town like Birmingham here are two bankers set up as candidates; they have all the rich with them, and these have great influence over the voters. But you, the working people of Birmingham, who have no votes, and particularly the young men among you, would have a great deal more influence than the rich if you chose to exercise it, as the working people in Lancashire are resolved to exercise it. It is they, and not the insolent rich, who are the customers of the voters; and with that sense and that spirit which have always marked the conduct of the people of that county, and which sense and spirit kept the flame of freedom alive when it appeared to be extinguished everywhere else, the working people of Lancashire are resolved to use their influence whether they have votes or not, and the Whigs have yet to resort to the use of the ballot, or to suffer Lancashire to send them a score of members firmly pledged to those things, from the naming of which, the refined gold, the lily and the violet of Birmingham, turns with a degree of rage, hardly describable by pen or tongue. In short, you ought to form yourselves into little societies, clubs, or something or another: you ought to furnish yourselves with accurate lists of the voters in the several divisions or precincts; you ought to go to them and claim your right of being attended to. Bear in mind if you please, that the doctrine upon which this re-

stricted suffrage was founded was this: that the ten-pound voters *would be the representatives of the working people who had no votes*. On this ground you have now to stand: go to them as your representatives, and tell them to vote for no one that will not take the pledges. I trust that they will see their duty and will perform it; but at any rate, you have a right to interfere in order to induce them to take care of your interests, and not to be tools in the hands of bankers and other rich men. If Messrs. Attwood and Schofield will give the pledges, they may be fit men; but if they will not, they cannot be fit men, and other candidates ought to be chosen.

The whole country has perceived, that, ever since the second reading of the last Reform Bill in the House of Lords, the *leaders* of the Political Union at Birmingham, have upon all occasions, been pulling in the same direction with the Ministry; have been in fact, like the corporation of London, tools in the hands of the Ministry. This has been seen by the whole country, and nowhere more clearly than at Manchester and the other towns of Lancashire, while, indeed, the leaders of the Birmingham Union have always been rather suspected. This proceeding of the 4th of July can leave a doubt upon the subject in the mind of no man. What is it that has so enraged Mr. Attwood? What is it that has thus stirred the puddle? What is it that has thus carried him beyond all the bounds of decency? Read the pledges: To abolish the tithes; to repeal burdensome taxes; to revise the corn-laws; to abolish sinecures and unmerited places and pensions; to support efforts for the abolition of colonial slavery; to repeal the Septennial Act; to extend the suffrage to householders; to abolish all property qualification, as is the case in America; to support every effort to extend the liberty and support the happiness of the nation.

What is there here to throw a man into a paroxysm of rage? What is there to induce the supposed author of the propositions a perfidious and bloody-minded man, as Attwood calls Mr. Russell. To hear Attwood's lan-

guage with regard to Mr. Russell, one would suppose that the latter had wished to pledge him to smother his wife between two feather beds, as Iago did, and thereby expose himself to the gallows. Aye, aye: Attwood knew very well that Russell proposed no such thing as this; but I verily believe that Mr. Attwood knew that he had made a *bargain with the Whigs that no pledges should be given at Birmingham*, in the hope that the whole country would follow the example, and that thus the Reform Bill would be rendered of no earthly use in the change of the system. Mr. Russell's pledges *thwarted this deep-laid scheme*; they place Mr. Attwood in the necessity of giving pledges, or refusing to give pledges; if he did the former, away went the scheme of the Whigs, and Birmingham became an example for the giving of pledges; if the latter, Mr. Attwood *lost his seat*, and his vanity underwent a crucifixion, the torments of which are not to be conceived by anybody on earth who is not a lump of refined gold, a spotless lily, or a sweet-smelling violet! Here, then, is the true history of puddle in the storm: this it is which has flung King Tom into his tantrums, and brought down upon poor Mr. Russell the charge of being the blackest of traitors and the bloodiest of murderers.

Working people, and especially young men, of Birmingham, bestir yourselves now; but not like puddle in a storm. Meet, consult, resolve, publish your resolutions, rescue the character of your celebrated town from the disgrace which it is now intended to heap upon it; dissipate all the plots and schemes of the Whig-ridden Council; let it never be said that a town of which I used to say that, in the language of the celebrated poet, it claimed for its motto ARMS and the MEN: let it never be said that this town was rendered a poor noodling thing, by the intrigues of a handful of hangers on of the Ministry; a parcel of puffed-up things, who are seeking to become lords perhaps, or to gratify themselves by some other means equally despicable: suffer not yourselves, for God's sake, to become the

subject of a parodied farce, exhibiting you as the subjects of KING TOM THUMB, issuing his orders in council in conjunction with his two statesmen NOODLE and DOODLE!

However, I make sure that all this advice and these exhortations are useless: long before the day of election will arrive, you will have swept away puddle and all the rest of it; and I will pledge myself that you will send up to help me two Warwickshire lads pledged to the "Iago" propositions. This is my firm belief; and in this belief I remain,

Your friend,  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

N.B. If I do not receive a republication of the whole of this article from Birmingham in the course of a week from next Saturday; that is to say, before the 28th of July, I will have it republished in a little pamphlet myself, and send it down to be distributed at Birmingham. I request any one that may re-publish it to re-publish *the whole*, from the words "Puddle in a Storm," down to the words "Wm. Cobbett."

The following petition was sent yesterday to Mr. O'CONNELL, with a request that he would be pleased to present it to the House of Commons.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett, of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That your humble petitioner, perceiving that your honourable House has discovered that it is impracticable to put the Reform Act, which was passed on the 4th of June last, into execution, until at a time now considerably distant, a fact very alarming, but by no means surprising to your humble petitioner, who, having now had the means of attentively looking at all the provisions of that act; at all the com-



plexity in the rights of voting, which it attempts to establish; at all the troublesome and vexatious regulations which it imposes upon the voters; at all the cumbrous and expensive machinery of assistant-barristers, and their several sets of under-agents, at the discretionary interference and powers of judges, justices, and other persons; having now had the means of attentively examining all these provisions, your humble petitioner is convinced that the said act, in its present form and meaning, cannot, and never will, be carried into effect; and that unless a remedy be speedily applied, by the passing of another act, to amend the act aforesaid, the consequences will be fatal to the peace of the country.

That it is quite evident that all this complexity, all the difficulty and delay, and all the now-manifest impracticability, have arisen from the desire of your right honourable House to exclude from the right of voting all but a small part of the people, and to keep that right exclusively in the hands of the rich; that your petitioner deems it to be a principle, the justice of which is wholly undeniable, that every man arrived at the state of manhood, and being of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime, has a right to vote in the choosing of those who shall make the laws, because every such man not only pays taxes, direct or indirect, but is liable, between the age of eighteen and fifty, to be compelled to assume the military garb, to submit to military discipline, to quit his home, his parents, his wife and his children, and to venture his life in defence of the country and its laws; that, therefore, your petitioner is prepared to hear no argument that can possibly be opposed to such general claim to a right to vote; that, however, as applicable to the present prayer of your humble petitioner, the right thus extensively enjoyed, would at once put an end to all those difficulties which now embarrass your honourable House, and threaten the country with confusion.

That your humble petitioner, therefore, prays that your honourable House

will be pleased to repeal all the clauses of the aforesaid act, passed on the 4th day of June last, from the eighteenth clause inclusive to the end of the said act; and that, in lieu of the clauses thus repealed, your honourable House will be pleased to pass an act, providing that every man, in every part of the kingdom, being eighteen years of age, and upwards, being of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime, shall, in future, have a right to vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament; that you will be pleased to provide that the parish-officers in every parish shall make out lists of the persons in that parish entitled to vote; that they shall place these on the church doors, on or before the 1st day of September next, notifying to all persons that they may come and demand the insertion of their names, if those names have been improperly omitted; that when the day of election shall arrive, the parish officers shall receive the votes by ballot, and the next day make a return of them to the returning officer for the county, part of county, or borough in which the parish is situated; that the returning officer, after due examination, shall make his declaration of the member or members who have the majority of votes; that the election shall be on one and the same day, and only on one day, throughout the whole kingdom, and that the returning officer shall make his declaration and his return on the next day.

That your humble petitioner further prays, that the penalty of five hundred pounds forfeiture, for the use of the parish, shall be inflicted on any parish officer who shall neglect any part of this his duty; and that, if fraud or corruption be proved upon him, he shall be transported for life; that with regard to sheriffs, and other returning officers, if they be proved guilty of wilfully making a false return, or if they shall refuse to make a return in due time, they shall forfeit all their goods and estates to the king, and be banished for life.

That your humble petitioner can see no necessity for any delay whatsoever;

that the lists, having remained on the church doors during the month of September, will enable your honourable House to provide for having the election taken in the first week of October; that your petitioner here sees the simple means of getting rid of all the cumbersome machinery with which the present act loads a matter that ought to be most simple of execution; that here all the scandalous swearings are got rid of, it being impossible that any man should present himself to vote without being well known to the parish officers, which parish officers must of necessity be men of respectability in their parishes.

That your humble petitioner is convinced, that, upon serious reflection on the matter, your honourable House must be satisfied that the act of the fourth of June aforesaid never can be carried into effect; that it contains within itself a mass of complexities which renders it absolutely inexecutable; and that, after all, if it were practicable to execute it, it would not answer the intention of your honourable House; for that, those, to whom your honourable House have given votes, must of necessity, in numerous cases, be compelled to act under the control of those who have no votes, or else to incur all the consequences of their bitter and just resentment; and that thus ill blood in neighbourhoods, a general hatred of the poor towards the rich, a disrespect for the laws, and strife interminable, must be the consequences.

That to abandon error as soon as it is discovered is one of the true marks of wisdom and of goodness; that your humble petitioner trusts, that he shall find this mark evinced in the conduct of your honourable House; and, therefore, he again most earnestly prays, that you will now, with all speed, be pleased to pass a bill, repealing the aforesaid clauses in the act of the fourth of June, and containing the provisions above stated, with the most profound respect, by your humble petitioner;

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

## PEEL'S BILL.

(*Courier*, 10th July.)

The *John Bull* of Sunday last maintains that "*Peel's Currency Bill of 1819*," was the cause of the *prosperity* which, according to the statement of the writer, exists in the town of Birmingham, and throughout the empire generally. Now, with the facts which we all have before our eyes, and knowing, as we do, that even those whom our cotemporary would desire to please by his indiscreet reference to "*Peel's Currency Bill, of 1819*," are *deeply sensible of the truth* that the measure alluded to has been one of the *chief causes of the severe distress under which the country now labours*, we are surprised that any one should venture at this time to maintain a fallacy so monstrous as that the country is in a state of *prosperity*, when the contrary is notorious, and that such prosperity has been caused by Peel's bill. In our paper of yesterday, we referred to a collection of petitions, in which the people have described their condition with an earnestness which is a fearful indication of the fidelity of their representations. Among those petitions is one from Birmingham, signed by 25,000 persons. If our cotemporary can succeed in persuading these petitioners that they are mistaken in supposing themselves to be in a state of extreme want, he certainly will do a great good to them and to the country at large. But until then we think it better to employ ourselves in the endeavour to show the cause of the *strange anomaly* of the existence of distress among the great mass of the population, while the country possesses the most abundant means of furnishing employment and all the necessities and comforts of life in the greatest profusion to all its inhabitants.

Good; though it does come out of the political Nazareth. Nothing more clearly proves the insincerity of the Whigs, and their desire to carry on the present ruinous system, than their having so sedulously abstained from all attacks upon PEEL and his mischievous bill. There are many of them, and my Lord GREY himself amongst the rest, who now act their part in that bill, the chief of them who took a very active part in it, old dunderheaded TIERNEY, and HORNER and RICARDO and ABERCROMBIE: these dunderheaded devils are all dead or off the stage. WILLIAM LAMB never had brains enough to think upon such a subject; and as to Lord HOLLAND, he talked about it, to be sure, a little, but he never applauded the stupid measure: my Lord GREY expressly said that he would have no part in it,



and I wish he had said the same with regard to the *Special Commissions* in Hampshire and Wiltshire.

Now, then, that which has struck me as a sort of natural wonder, is, that these Whigs should have suffered that great, tall, staring, noisy thing **PEEL'S-BILL PEEL**, to stand up before them as the statesman *par excellence*, laying down the law to them; telling them what they ought to do and what they ought not to do; calling them every thing but gentlemen and men of sense; desiring them to look to him for lessons whereby to govern the nation; it has filled me with wonder that they should have suffered this great tall thing to go on at this rate, while only a bare recital put into the form of about three resolutions; while only a bare recital of the notorious ruin and misery, of the suicides innumerable, of the internal commotions, and of the external embarrassments occasioned by the bill of which he was the author, and of the consequences of which he was duly forewarned; while, I say, a bare recital of these in a formal manner laid upon the table of the House, would, unless the fellow be made of stone or brass, have made him afraid ever to have opened his lips in that house again.

The truth is, the Whigs mean to carry on the present system. Therefore, they dare not enter on any violent hostility against their opponents. But the **RADICALS** have no such design, I believe; and if **PEEL'S-BILL PEEL** has been unable to provoke the Whigs to call him to account, it does not follow that he is to be equally unsuccessful with the **RADICALS**. **PEEL'S-BILL PEEL**, a word in your ear! Now, Peely, according to the reporter, you said, about six weeks ago, that you *commended* the Attorney-General for his "*manly* conduct in prosecuting Cobbett." It was manly, was it, Peely? very manly above all things. But, Peely, what should you think now of bringing *your own*

case into court? However, I'll say no more on that subject at present. Turn it in your mind a bit; look through Hargrave. You will find nothing about *currency* there to be sure; but, Peely, there are such things as *principles* and *analogy* and *parity*; and these go to the making up of *precedents* as well as positive instances. A case in point does not consist of facts of the same nature. Consider of this, Peely; for I am not like Thomas Attwood, to content myself with mere talk: this reform, to be of any use must look *backward as well as forward*, and so I bid you farewell for the present, and turn for a moment to the nonsense of Sir Henry Parnell, of which we have the following account in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 13th inst., which I request my readers to go through with attention; and if they read but the first forty lines they will instinctively button up their breeches pockets if they have got any gold in them.

A valuable pamphlet, under the title of "A Plain Statement of the Power of the Bank of England, and of the use it has made of it; with a refutation of the objections made to the Scotch system of banking; and a reply to the 'Historical Sketch of the Bank of England,'" has just made its appearance. It is attributed to Sir HENRY PARNELL. In this pamphlet great pains have been taken to show, from the very highest evidence, that the Bank of England have either principally caused or greatly added to the various commercial embarrassments of the country during the last fifty years. The Bank is bound to make out a case to justify the departure from the principle of freedom of trade; it is bound (he says) to show "that the public will be more benefited by the renewal of the monopoly than by trusting to the general principle; first, with regard to the management of the currency; secondly, with respect to accommodating trade; and thirdly, with respect to acting as the Bank of Government. But so far from the Bank of England being able to make out such a case, the facts are, that with respect to the first, it has been mischievous in the highest degree; with respect to the second, it has been almost useless; and with respect to the third, the Government would find no difficulty, and incur no risk in employing another Bank or other Banks, if the Bank of England were to cease to exist." "The public are not, perhaps, fully aware of the extent of the advantage derived from the keeping open the Bank Question till the meeting of the reformed Parliament. Ministers, it is shown by Sir HENRY,

naturally dislike any change from which they anticipate increased trouble; and the sort of men of whom Parliament is now composed, are with few exceptions utterly ignorant of the merits of the question. It is clear that we were in a fair way to be sacrificed. The following observations with which Sir HENRY concludes his pamphlet, speak volumes on this subject:—"The securing (he says) of measures based upon sound principles of legislation, on this occasion of making a new settlement of the banking system of England, is a matter of such vast importance, that no pains can be thrown away in guarding against the repetition of error from the want of knowledge among our statesmen and members of Parliament, of the elementary principles of law-making. If, when we investigate the history of our political conduct, of our policy, as well foreign as domestic; of our treaties, our wars, our commercial regulations, our legislation; we see they are marked by errors, which are the produce of disgraceful ignorance, we surely ought not to put our whole trust in our cabinets of Ministers, or our committees of Parliament; but rather, while it is yet time, we shall instruct the public, and excite it to look after its own interests and make itself heard, in the way we now know will effectually secure attention to them. It is only by the public taking this course that the new arrangement for the management of the currency and banking-trade will be rescued from the influence of loan-contractors, stock-jobbers, and bill-brokers, and laid on a foundation having for its object the welfare of the industrious classes."

The author of this pamphlet examines minutely the circumstances connected with the commercial embarrassments of 1783, 1793, 1797, 1816, 1818, and 1825, and proves conclusively that the bank either produced or greatly aggravated them.

We can only now do little more than call attention to this valuable pamphlet, of which we intend to avail ourselves more fully on a future day. The author shows, we think, that the Scotch system of banking might be introduced into England with the greatest advantage, and that all the difficulties urged with respect to the management of foreign exchanges, by a number of banks, are mere phantoms. The Scotch, at present, are obliged to attend to the exchanges with London. "The bank directors," says Sir HENRY, "seek to frighten away all meddling with their monopoly, by raising up this phantom of foreign exchanges. The management of the currency, with reference to the foreign exchanges, consists in nothing else than making a gradual contraction of it as soon as the exchanges fall; or as anything occurs which is an indication of a strong probability that they will fall. . . . If the banking trade of London were under the management of several banks, the directors of them would be not only as able, but more able and competent to keep the currency in a sound state, than the directors of the Bank of

England. The greater number of them would bring forward a greater quantity of skill, experience, and forethought. They would be far from all partial influences, and in consequence, all their issues being made in discounts and loans to the trading classes, they would always have the means in their hands of readily contracting or increasing the currency."

Sir Henry satisfactorily meets the argument founded on the supposed magnitude of the commercial transactions of England, as compared with those of Scotland. "What has been," he asks, "the cause of so few failures in Scotland? The freedom of the banking trade, and the establishment of opulent banks. Therefore, so far as confining the power of issuing paper money in the hands of opulent bankers is a public object, the Scotch system of banking is just as fit for London as it is for Edinburgh."

The mode in which the opulent bankers in Scotland league together for their common safety in checking every deviation from true banking principles, has already been imitated to a considerable extent by the English country bankers, since the partial destruction of the bank monopoly in the country beyond a certain distance from London.

It is understood that several of the authorities quoted by Sir Henry as affording evidence of the injury the country has hitherto sustained from the Bank of England, are now recommending a continuance of the monopoly. It will be curious to see how they will get over their own principles.

One can hardly distinguish here the words of Dr. Black from the words of wise Parnell himself. They are, it must be allowed, an admirable match, colour, height, black legs, star in the forehead: they were made to run together. I cannot help looking at that great mass of power and delusion called the Bank; I cannot help looking at this thing, upon which this Government rests as completely as a house rests upon the earth. I cannot help looking at this great heap of mischief, and seeing Doctor Black and Parnell at work, without thinking of a couple of tom-tits hammering away with their little feeble bills, crying *chee-weet*, and pecking away with all the sprightliness imaginable upon the bark of an old oak tree, the top of which being dead, and the inside hollow, has still a crust capable of resisting the assaults of iron and of steel. These tom-tits will never produce any effect, I imagine; but they will serve to set wild notions afloat. The Bank cannot sustain



itself long, let what will happen ; in the second week of May last it was proved that there is nothing but the bark left. It is a good convenient thing now, because we can drive at it when we like. Henry Parnell would blow it up at once. His pamphlet which Dr. Black describes as so *valuable*, really seems to be the production of idiocy: it is a busy, conceited, shallow man, with perhaps no bad intentions, but with a wonderful capacity *not to comprehend*. For the soul of him this man cannot see why this Government cannot go on with this system too without the Bank of England. Well, let them do what they like ; they will never have any interruption from me : I am sure they will destroy the thing themselves, and the destruction is what I want to behold. I shall have other fish to fry. I shall have to dry up the waters which feed this destructive thing, and Henry Parnell will soon find that his Scotch banking will not be necessary, because there will be nothing to bank about.

*Languard, Isle of Wight, July 17, 1832.*

## TO MR. COBBETT.

*Morpeth, July 3, 1832.*

DEAR SIR,

HAVING observed in your *Political Register* of last week, that you make some observations on the speech of the chairman at the Reform Dinner at Morpeth, and make use of my name, if you will have the goodness to refer back to the *Tyne Mercury*, you will perceive I only took the chair during dinner, in consequence of Dr. Trotter's indisposition: after the cloth was drawn, Dr. Trotter entered the room and took the chair, and as it was his speech and not mine, you will have the goodness to correct this mistake in your next, as I do not wish to be made responsible for opinions and sentiments contrary to my own.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient humble servant,  
ROBERT SHUTE.

## SAVINGS BANKS.

THE following letter and its postscript, together with a communication which the writer sent to the *Morning Journal* a good while ago, will be found to be extremely interesting. They will show what works are going on in order to get money out of people's pockets to put it in these Savings Banks. I have no room for comment. It is a subject for laughter ; for it shows to what tricks this once insolent system is at last compelled to resort.

*Saturday, July 7, 1832.*

SIR,—I am induced, from perusing an article in your *Register* of the 30th of June, entitled "*National Faith*," to take the liberty of addressing you respecting your just animadversions on the system of "SAVINGS BANKS." I own it is not until lately that I have felt any interest, or at all thirsted after political information, owing to the first seven years after I left home being employed in the sea service of the East India Company, to and from India and China, the last ship being the *Kent*, that was burned in the Bay of Biscay, on March the 1st, 1825 ; but happening to get hold of one of your *Registers*, I thought the remarks contained in it so *interestingly clear, fearlessly candid*, and so *conclusively just*, that I have continued a constant reader of the *Register* ever since, and intend my children shall also, as soon as their young minds shall have attained to a sufficient degree of reason and understanding to digest and retain what they read ; the particular reason of my presuming to address you is, that from the tenor of your remarks in saying, "Be the parties what they may, they have CHOSEN to become fundholders ; they have NOT been COMPELLED to become FUNDHOLDERS ; they have not been COMPELLED to prop up this mischievous system, &c. &c." You do not seem to be aware of the fact, that the industrious class, the bees of the hive, coming under the denomination of labourers in the East India Company's civil service, and being almost the whole of that vast body, ARE COMPELLED AND HAVE

BEEN COMPELLED (that is, all those who entered their service on and after January 31, 1822,) to become depositors on entering their service, or employment is withheld, unless agreeing to those terms; and that in March, 1830, when the Duke of Wellington adduced as a proof of the prosperity of the country, a reference to the Savings Banks, that on that occasion I addressed a copy of the enclosed letter to the Editor of the *Morning Journal*, but cannot say if it was inserted in that paper or not. I have thus far presumed to trespass on your invaluable time, conceiving by your remarks, that you were not in possession of the existence of such a circumstance.

I remain, Sir,  
Your obedient humble servant,  
A LABOURER IN THE SAID SERVICE.

P.S. I should have stated in my letter of the 2d of March, 1830, to the Editor of the *Morning Journal*, that the condition of their belonging to the Savings Banks was imperative to their being employed, commencing January 31, 1822, but that all who were on the establishment antecedent to the above law, with very few exceptions (perhaps not more than one in twenty or thirty) joined the system upon the specious lure being held out of an increase of the *scale of pension to all those who signed their names to belong to it*. Though perhaps not more than one in fifty or a hundred ever attains to the period of enjoying the full scale of pension—which is 11s. 6d. for 35 years' servitude.

#### COMMUNICATION.

SIR,—In perusing a noble Duke's speech of Thursday evening last, I find he adduces as a proof, that the distress of the labouring classes of the country is not so great as it is represented, by referring to the Savings Banks; in the first place, it is very well known, that it is not the labouring classes that form the majority of the depositors in the Savings Banks; it is confined chiefly to persons in easy circumstances, such as clerks, petty tradesmen, &c. Likewise perhaps it was not generally known in

the House, when the noble Duke brought forth such a trifling argument, as a reference to the Savings Banks, to prove that the country was not in the suffering state it was said to be; that a great body, coming under the denomination of labourers, and being upwards of 3,000 in the Hon. East India Company's employ, are **LITERALLY OBLIGED under penalty of LOSING THEIR SITUATIONS** to become depositors of this same fund of **THREE-PENCE PER WEEK OUT OF THEIR WEEKLY PAY**, and yet this is brought forward as an argument against the existing distress!

To the Editor of the *Morning Journal*,  
March 2, 1830.

#### PLEDGES,

#### DEMANDED OF CANDIDATES IN SCOTLAND.

To the Editor of the *Kilmarnock Chronicle*.

SIR,—A meeting of the Political Union of this place was held upon Tuesday the 3d inst., for the purposes mentioned in Mr. Ramsay's excellent letter, which appeared in last *Chronicle*. A very great proportion of the electors here are members of the Union. The subjoined Confession of Political Faith was submitted to the meeting, and was unanimously resolved, that every person who may offer himself as a candidate for the county representation be required to give his assent to the propositions therein contained. The electors who were present at the meeting have called a meeting of all the electors in the parish of Loudon and barony of Greenholm, to be held upon Tuesday, the 10th instant, to take such steps as may be in their power to secure the return of a proper person to represent the county in the reformed Parliament. The Political Union of Newmilns earnestly request the friends of freedom in every town, village, and parish, in the County of Ayr, to exert themselves and adopt similar measures, as they wish to obtain practical good from the Reform Bill.

By giving this and the subjoined Confession a place in your first publica-



tion, will be considered a favour to us and to the Reformers in general.

ROBERT STEEL,  
Pres. of the Union.

It is admitted by every person that the end of all government is the general good. It will, therefore, surely not be denied by any that the cheapest way in which that end can be accomplished is the best.

Do you consider it to be the duty of a representative at all times to obey the instructions he may receive from a majority of his constituents, when those instructions are communicated to him in a regular and lawful manner? And do you consider it to be his duty to resign the trust committed to him into the hands of his constituents, whenever he cannot conscientiously obey their instructions?

Do you promise that, in the first session of Parliament, you will do every thing in your power to procure a total abolition of tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, of the soap, the malt and hop taxes, a revision of the Corn Laws, and a repeal of the Septennial Act, that most daring and flagrant invasion of the rights of the people?

Do you promise to do every thing in your power to procure a total abolition of all sinecure places and unmerited pensions?

Do you promise never to relax in your endeavours to procure economy in the national expenditure until it be reduced as nearly as possible to a level with the expenditure of the United States of America?

### SOMETHING NEW !!!

On Friday the periodical removals of some of the Horse Guards regiments took place—the 2d Regiment of Life Guards for instance, quitting the Albany-street, Regen's Park, barracks, and proceeding to the Knights-bridge barracks, to succeed "the Blues," *alias* "the Old Gentlemen of Windsor." These removals would be unworthy of notice, except for some curious circumstances that occurred. The 'Blues,' it appears, have not a tip-top character for leaving the places that they may have occupied in the most *clean* state that could be imagined; at all events, on the arrival of their successors, with their horses, waggons, &c., early on Friday morning,

they found the barracks left in so dirty a state by somebody or another that *they refused to enter them* till they were put in such a state as they would be obliged to keep them in, or be subjected to divers fines. Instead of entering the barracks, they *drew up in the Park*, and there awaited the result of *non-compliance with divers persuasions and efforts to induce them to enter the barracks*. The extraordinary proceeding, the *temporary encampment*, naturally enough attracted numerous spectators; and eventually they were surrounded with crowds. The affair occasioned no ordinary *consternation* and *embarrassment with the authorities*—for the men were resolute in not being compelled to clean after others, or to be fined for the dirtiness of the places which they or their horses might occupy. Communications were sent backwards and forwards—their colonel (Lygon), who is an attentive and *considerate*, as well as a *particular* officer, was obliged to interfere, and it was eventually arranged that the cleansings, repairs, and damages, rendered necessary by the previous occupants, should be done, and that the said *previous occupants should defray the expenses thereof*—which, if they do, must be *deducted out of their pay*; and on these conditions, in the evening, the 2d Horse Guards marched into the *dirty* barracks. The cleansing, repairs, &c., it is estimated, are not likely to be much, if any, *less than 200l.*; so that the lesson of cleanliness will not be afforded gratis. Till it is paid off, there will be *diminution of pay*.—*Morning Paper*.

This is not "disobedience of orders," I suppose, and "mutiny;" the Local Militia in the Isle of Ely was flogged under a guard of German bayonets, because they *refused to march* without receiving "the marching guinea;" which marching guinea the act of Parliament positively said they should receive. To order the men to march without the marching guinea, was not a *lawful order*; yet those men were flogged, and I had to endure two years of imprisonment and pecuniary ruin, because I expressed my indignation at their being flogged under a guard of German bayonets! As to this affair in Hyde-park, the first question is, how did the barracks come to be out of order? There is a *quarter-master* and a *quarter-master-serjeant* to each troop, whose particular duty it is, to see that the barracks are kept in a perfectly clean and proper state. Besides these, there are the officers of the several companies, who are charged with the same care. Then there is an *officer of the*

day, from one of whom there goes *every twenty-four hours a written report* to the commanding officer, describing to him very minutely the state of every part of the barracks. So that this is a very strange affair altogether.

With regard to the conduct of the men who refused to enter the barracks, it appears to have been thought very proper; and therefore I shall say nothing about that, only just observing, that we are fast coming to the point towards which things have been manifestly tending for several years past. The Government would see (if it had common sense, which it never yet had), that it is impossible for the nation to recover its rights, without a renovation of mind running through all ranks and situations of life.

I have taken the above article from the *Morning Chronicle*, the editor of which seems to know as much about the army as he knows about the state of the chopsticks. What, then, does he imagine that the "*Blues*" are a going to suffer a *deduction from their pay*, for the purpose of cleansing these barracks! To deduct from a soldier's pay, without very *clear law for it*, is as delicate an enterprise as can possibly be imagined. When Richard Spooner spoke to me of the *little shilling project*, I asked him how he would get the soldier to take a little shilling instead of a great one; what sort of state he thought a barrack would be in when the first soldier had sallied out and found that his shilling would buy only half as much beer as it would the last week. There is nothing that a soldier is so very nice upon as upon the subject of his pay; he is very sensible of honour no doubt; but upon the score of his pay he is absolutely a sensitive plant. Besides, there is no law to take from these Blues one single farthing for the specified purpose; nor is there any equity, either, for such a proceeding. If the state of the barracks be truly represented, why it was not the fault of the men in the smallest degree; it was wholly the fault of the officers, aye, and of the *commanding officer*, too; for, at last, all power is traced back to him; and all negligence, and conse-

quences of negligence must be traced back to him also. He himself ought to pay for the cleansing of the barracks, because he ought to have taken care that all the parties under him did their duty.

### MR. HUME,

#### AS TRAVELLING PARLIAMENT- PACKER.

HERE we have him at MARYBONNE. Always chairman, and always a shuffling excuse against the giving of pledges. He seems here to have discovered a means of putting off the Reform Bill for a long time. However, I have no time for comment. I request my readers to look well at what HUME says about pledges, and to remember that the word *CHEAP* may mean *anything* or *nothing*. Major REVELL and the shouts of the audience must have disconcerted our gentleman a good deal. I will another time remark on what he said about pledges, which was pretty nearly as empty and as impudent as ever came out of the lips of mortal man. The longer the reformed Parliament is put off from meeting, the longer he will be a great man. That Parliament will not long be met, before he will find, that it is not disposed to carry on a long debate to determine whether we shall have *three hundred and one* or *three hundred and two* barracks! In short, he will find that the bustling days of *totting up* are gone never to return.

#### MEETING OF THE MARYBONNE ELECTORS.

A public meeting of the electors of the borough of Marybonne took place yesterday, at the Eyre Arms Tavern, St. John's Wood, to consent to a series of resolutions or tests that were to be proposed to candidates offering themselves for the borough, and to consult on the best means of choosing fit and proper representatives.

Dr. HARRISON begged leave to propose that Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P. do take the chair. The proposal was unanimously adopted, and the hon. member took possession of the chair amid the heartiest expressions of approbation.



The CHAIRMAN said, that he was always sincerely happy to forward in every way in his power, the wishes of his fellow-parishioners, and upon this occasion very particularly so, as they were assembled upon what he considered of the most pressing importance. The business that the meeting was convened upon was, to examine into the best means that could be adopted, in order not to be deceived in the choice of representatives, and to consider what were the proper and fit steps to be taken previous to the ensuing election. He hoped that, as probably there would be a diversity of opinions expressed by various persons in the meeting, a patient hearing would be given to every one, and that the meeting would support him in discharging impartially the duties of chairman. He trusted that a flat contradiction would be given to those calumniators who had so often repeated that the disorderly behaviour of the metropolitan districts would prove them unworthy of the elective franchise. All electors had an especial duty to perform—a duty not only towards themselves, but towards those who unfortunately had no votes. A vote was a mere trust; it was not like money, that a man may do as he pleased with—it was a possession placed in men's hands not for their own particular benefit, but for the benefit of others. If this were generally understood and acted upon, there would be no taxation without representation. It was the incumbent duty of every voter to see that in his selection he chose men of talent, integrity, habits of business, leisure, and good-will. He was not surprised at the long system of misrule that had been carried on in this country, when he reflected in what manner a House of Commons was elected. But it was not their faults—it was the fault of the people; and if the people would be only awake to their own influence, they would get rid of the agency by means of which this system of misrule had been so long continued. The people must look to their own affairs if they wish them to be done well. The fable of the "Lark and her Young Ones" teaches that no man transacts his business so well

and so surely as he himself. If the people would but follow the moral of the fable, they would make the Reform Bill work well, and rid themselves completely of what he called the "selfish system." He earnestly hoped that, in this respect, the people of the district to which he belonged would show a solid example. He had a few observations to make on the subject of pledges. His opinion—his decided opinion—was, that, on all great and vital matters, candidates should be put to the test. Let him not, however, be misunderstood, for there were distinctions. A candidate may pledge himself to endeavour to reduce all useless expenditure, but differ from one or two of his constituents as to the expenditure that was useless, and that which was not; and if he differed from one or two, it may so happen that he should differ from a great many. He thought that deliberate after-judgment should be allowed to the candidate; and that it would be impolitic to pledge the candidate to the way of reducing particular taxes. Candidates undoubtedly should be pledged to remove all those that press on the industry of the country—taxes on knowledge—and all that prevent the moral elevation of the national character. Candidates, he repeated, should be pledged on all these. (Cheers.) It must however, be expected that in a deliberative assembly men should sometimes vote according to their own judgment, formed, as it were *ex tempore*, by some irresistible arguments or facts adduced. Nothing he disliked more than *voting by proxy*; and if men were *too minutely pledged*, they would be made *mere Peers of*. He abhorred the idea of making a *machine or tool* of any man. Let candidates pledge themselves to advocate *cheap government*, to endeavour to let the people have *cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap instruction, and cheap law*, and he thought *security enough* would be exacted from them. The honourable Chairman concluded by alluding to a discovery that had been made the night before in the House of Commons, and by which, if the clause could not be altered, it would be found of the deepest im-

portance to postpone the general election until December next. But the committee that had convened the meeting had drawn up a petition to the Commons House of Parliament this very morning, and that petition his friend, Sir Samuel Whalley, would now read to the meeting. (The honourable Gentleman sat down in the midst of the loudest cheering.)

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY (who rose to read the petition paying for delay with respect to the ensuing general election) said that his usual diffidence in addressing a public meeting was increased by the very flattering reception he had just experienced. Without excuse or further apology he would proceed to the point in question. If the clause in the Reform Bill requiring the assessed taxes and poor-rates to be paid up to the 6th of April, and now, on account of the delay in the passing of the Bill, up to the 20th of July (this month), if this clause be not altered, or the time of election deferred, not only this district but the whole country would become one close borough. As for this parish, it would be impossible that the books could be so made up by the 20th of the present month as to render the demands for rates legal. Being particularly anxious that his fellow parishioners should immediately enjoy the rights that had been restored to them, he had waited on Lord John Russell, and on Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and explained that if the present clause were allowed to stand, the electors would be cut down in the most unsatisfactory way. The worthy Baronet then read the petition, the substance of which was, that as the passing of the Reform Bill had been obstructed during so long a time, many of the stipulations would be found incorrect, and that clauses should either be altered, or the epoch of the ensuing elections postponed until next December at least.

Mr. SAVAGE felt that some of the allegations were incorrect, inasmuch as there were no rates paid or due on the 5th of April or on the 25th of March. The books are so arranged that payments are made half-yearly, so that in

this parish no such thing as quarterly payments of rates are known.

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY—Lord J. Russell showed him an Act of Parliament by which it was clear, that though rates were paid half-yearly, they were due quarterly.

Upon this point there was a good deal of irregular discussion, in which Mr. HAYDEN of Paddington joined, and quoted an Act of Queen Elizabeth, which states that all poor-rates are due the moment they are signed by a magistrate.

The petition was agreed to, and the chairman recommended that it should be numerously signed. It was proposed to him to present it; to which he assented, provided they did their duty by showing its importance by the number of signatures attached to it.

Major REVELL rose to propose the first resolution, which in fact was a series of resolutions or tests essential to the proper choice of future representatives. The gallant Major read them *seriatim*, and those which alluded to the abolition of tithes, to the repeal of the corn laws, and to that of the taxes on knowledge, were loudly cheered. He said, that if they could get members to carry these resolutions into effect, he for one should bless the time that gave them the Reform Bill. But they would have still many difficulties to buckle with. He had given them good advice on a former occasion, when the kingdom was in a state of crisis—he had told them to put the supplies into the hands of Parliamentary commissioners, and he would now give them advice that would be every bit as useful. It was a secret of his—but he would out with it, since it would do the public good; it was, simply, that we should have a *cheap king*. (Cheers from the crowd, "*And a cheap queen above all things.*") If, in a limited monarchy, the king were allowed to play at chuck-farthing with guineas, and to curl his hair with bank-notes, his deputies would pursue the same course of extravagance that they saw pursued by the grand deputy. The viceroys of Ireland and the governors of India would expect to be paid in the



same proportion as the governor at home. The gallant Major, after alluding to Dutch governors in the colonies, who returned the surplus of their income to the mother government, requested the meeting to consider, to look upon, attentively look upon, the lords bishops, who sat as lay barons, and not in a spiritual capacity. They, as representatives of heaven, never thought themselves sufficiently paid, when a limited monarch, who was not a representative of heaven, but the head of the law of man, was so extravagantly recompensed. The fact was, that all the little deputies cried out, "You must pay me as well as you pay the great gentleman at St. James's." Those princes who have astonished the world by their achievements, were always hampered in the outset with respect to their money concerns. He then alluded to George IV., whom nature had richly endowed, but whom an extravagant parliament had spoiled, by richly endowing in another way. He concluded by advising the electors to details and not to generalities, for Peel, Herries, Goulbourn, Vyvyan, &c. will be liberal by wholesale, but in liberalism in detail they would be found wanting, as would all those who were liberal only because it was the fashion to be so.

Mr. MURPHY seconded the resolution or resolutions, in a long and very animated speech. He would propose, by way of amendment, that in addition to the repeal of the corn-laws, members should be pledged to a repeal of all and every one of the taxes that pressed upon the labour of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. GUTHRIE said, that, if not out of order, he would propose another addition, to the effect that there should be no property qualification for the elector or the elected. If it was the moral power of the 10*l.* electors that supported the present Administration in its agony, what would be the moral and physical force of millions of men when they had the same stimulus as the 10*l.* electors?

The CHAIRMAN would make no difficulty to this last addition when the tests were carried, and nobody could suppose that he would, when he reflected that it was he (Mr. Hume) who had brought

about in Parliament that there should be no property qualifications for members for Scotch boroughs, and that the members for counties in Scotland should have no more qualification than electors.

Mr. HALLS (the magistrate) proposed the second resolution. He considered that members should be returned free of expense; that vote by ballot and short Parliaments were essential to the happiness of the majority; the happiness of the great majority was what he especially advocated.

Mr. WARDEN seconded the resolution, and expressed himself inimical to particular pledges.

A committee was then appointed to carry the resolutions into effect. The names of the persons to form such committee were read by the chairman and approved of. They were those of the most respectable and influential persons of the parishes of St. Marybone, Paddington, and Pancras. They were chosen by a show of hands.

The CHAIRMAN, before vacating the chair, addressed the meeting again, and said that they should choose for their candidates the men who should profess themselves the advocates for the majority of the resolutions adopted by the present meeting, and not stickle about a candidate's objections to one particular resolution, provided he assented to the greater number. (Cheers.)

Mr. GREEN proposed a vote of thanks to their excellent and indefatigable chairman, which was carried amid deafening applause.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

FELLOWS, G., George-place, Battersea, coke and charcoal-manufacturer.

HAYS, C. D., Meriton's-wharf, Bermondsey, mariner.

SPRING, T., City-road, victualler.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BRYARS, S., Chester, silversmith.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BULCOCK, J., Straud, printseller.

## BANKRUPTS.

BUTLER, C., Cheapside, druggist.  
 GIBSON, J., Blackburn, Lancashire, draper.  
 HICKMAN, J., Birmingham, chemist.  
 HISCOCK, W., Southampton, tailor.  
 MITCHELL, J., now or late of Pudsey Cal-  
 verley, Yorkshire, linen-draper and grocer.  
 SHIPLEY, C., Sheffield, currier.

TUESDAY, JULY 17, 1832.

## BANKRUPTS.

FISHER, F. jun., Brighthelmstone, Sussex,  
 licensed dealer in patent medicines.  
 HOGG, J., Wetherby, Yorkshire, grocer.  
 HUTTON, W. A., Rathbone-place, auctioneer.  
 MONTEITH, G. D., Brierley-hill, Stafford-  
 shire, apothecary.  
 PARKER, W., and W. Smith, Worcester,  
 money-scriveners.  
 PENLEY, W. H. S. & A., Portsea, stationers.  
 RICHARDSON, J., Half Moon-street, Picca-  
 dilly, victualler.  
 ROBINSON, W., Stones, Lancashire, woollen-  
 manufacturer.  
 SHORT, R., Dartmouth, sail-maker.  
 TAYLOR, J. M., Clement's-lane, Lombard-  
 street, bookseller.  
 WALKER, G., Lane-end, Staffordshire, baker.  
 WATTS, R. S., St. Margaret's-hill, South-  
 wark, hop and seed-merchant.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 16.—  
 The supply of wheat fresh in this morning  
 from Kent and Essex was full as good as  
 might be expected at this season; and the  
 major part of that from Suffolk, which arrived  
 last week, remaining over for this day's  
 market, the show of samples was rather large;  
 and as the weather continues favourable, the  
 meal trade continues heavy, and may be  
 noted 2s. per qr. cheaper than on this day  
 se'nnight, although a few prime picked sam-  
 ples obtained within 1s. per qr. of last Mon-  
 day's quotations; but no sales could be made  
 of the secondary qualities, as the millers are  
 not disposed to increase their stocks, and only  
 purchase for the supply of their immediate  
 wants.

Oats continuing to arrive in large quantities  
 from Ireland causes a great depression in the  
 trade, and even at an abatement of 1s. per qr.,  
 the sales were to a very limited extent, as only  
 necessitous buyers were inclined to purchase.  
 In barley, beans, and peas, there was no  
 alteration, the supply and demand being very  
 trifling.

Wheat ..... 66s. to 74s.  
 Rye ..... 33s. to 34s.  
 Barley ..... 30s. to 33s.  
 — fine ..... 36s. to 38s.  
 Peas, White ..... 38s. to 40s.  
 — Boilers ..... 38s. to 40s.  
 — Grey ..... 37s. to 40s.  
 Beans, Small ..... 38s. to 42s.  
 — Tick ..... 32s. to 36s.  
 Oats, Potatoe ..... 24s. to —s.  
 — Poland ..... —s. to —s.  
 — Feed ..... 21s. to 23s.  
 Flour, per sack ..... 55s. to 60s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 47s. per cwt.  
 — Sides, new... 48s. to 52s.  
 Pork, India, new... 132s. 0d. to —s.  
 Pork, Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.  
 Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.  
 — Carlow ..... —s. to —s.  
 — Cork ..... 82s. to 83s.  
 — Limerick .. 82s. to 83s.  
 — Waterford.. 80s. to 82s.  
 — Dublin ..... —s. to —s.  
 Cheese, Cheshire.... 60s. to 78s.  
 — Gloucester, Double.. 60s. to 68s.  
 — Gloucester, Single.. 40s. to 48s.  
 — Edam ..... 46s. to 56s.  
 — Gouda ..... 48s. to 50s.  
 Hams, Irish..... 55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 16.

This day's supply of beasts—composed of  
 about equal numbers of (for the most part)  
 not more than half fat Lincolnshire and Dur-  
 ham steers, and good Welch runts, with about  
 200 prime Scots, and 150 (for the most part)  
 prime Herefords, some town's-end cows,  
 heifers of different breeds, &c—was rather  
 limited: of sheep and lambs—the former  
 chiefly composed of Downs, new Leicesters,  
 and Kents; the latter mostly of new Leices-  
 ters and Downs—rather great.

The trade was, with each kind of meat,  
 but more particularly that of middling and  
 inferior quality, very dull, at barely Friday's  
 prices.

Beasts, 1,872; sheep and lambs, 24,630;  
 calves, 247; pigs, 160.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 20.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The  
 market dull at the prices of Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		84	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½



# TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, AND ITS BOROUGHES.

— Non ita Romuli  
Præscriptum et intonsi Catonis  
Auspiciis, veterumque Norma :  
Privatus illis census erit brevis  
Commune magnum.

**G**ENTLEMEN,—At the next election, you will be called on to exercise your privilege of choosing men to serve you in Parliament, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, owing to the variety of candidates who may be desirous of offering themselves to the notice of a new and reformed constituency: it is, therefore, desirable that you should deliberate maturely on the claims of such as may solicit that honour, as well as on the conditions on which you would do right to elect them. There can be no doubt that an important crisis is at hand, in which it will be as prudent as it is just, to come forward with some decisive and popular measure, capable of affording immediate relief to the country.

In my opinion, whatever candidate be really desirous of serving his country at this important period, should give a pledge that he will support a plan for **ABOLISHING ALL the ASSESSED TAXES**, Excise, and Customs, which press heavily on the productive industry of the country; and for substituting in their stead a **GRADUATED PROPERTY TAX**, which should replenish the national Exchequer out of the superfluous coffers of the wealthy, and leave the poor farmer and honest mechanic quite free from its operation. I feel convinced, that whoever would do this, would be considered the friend of the people, and would not be asked whether he were a Tory, a Whig, or a Liberal.

The reform question being now settled in favour of popular representation, what you now want must obviously be not merely reformers, but practical economists and useful statesmen. Be therefore on your guard against hypocrites, who may avail themselves of the prevailing excitement, and may assume principles in order to obtain seats. In selecting men to be entrusted with the defence of your property and liberties, you must resolutely reject such candidates as have interests at stake manifestly incompatible with your own; and must form your judgment of comparative merits on some more solid criterion than the idle catch-words which any person may stick upon his banners. A haughty Whig tithe-monger is, from his *inconsistency*, as objectionable as an illiberal Tory. Patriotism can no longer be discerned in the colour of a flag; nor can political virtue be tried on the issue of any one disputed question.

Choose liberal and unflinching friends of the people, who have no narrow and exclusive attachment to any *party* whatever. A period is arrived in which it is necessary to discriminate between the partisan and the patriot—between the practical man and the pretending charlatan. For unfortunately, the very worst

sort of partiality has hitherto been concealed under the delusive mask of "Independence:" I mean that partiality to selfish views of personal ambition, which would fain exclude the co-operation of disinterested abilities.

Make your selection among those alone whose characters correspond to their professions, whose good sense and useful talents are acknowledged, whose manners are humble and unassuming, and who live among you and are acquainted with your wants! Ask not what have been the purport of their long, noisy, and unmeaning speeches; but inquire if their rents be moderate. If they mix familiarly with and are beloved by their tenantry. And if they have time, health, and courage, to go through their parliamentary duties.

It seems to me that the same man should not be an acting justice of the peace and a member of Parliament. It is a sound maxim that separates the legislative from the executive. For, by a union of functions, not at all times compatible, it is reasonable to infer, that either the magisterial or the senatorial duties may be neglected.

A true lover of his country will respect her institutions; for they must be connected by memory with those early associations which attach him to his native soil. And, while he is ready to reform abuses that have crept into them, he will avoid all factious attempts to involve the foundations themselves, venerable from their antiquity, in hasty and inconsiderate ruin. The question should in every instance be—What is best for the people at large?

It would be premature, at a distance of at least five months from the period of the dissolution of Parliament, to make any specific and positive declaration; but this I can say, that if I should be induced to offer my services to the country in Parliament, it would be by a desire to respond to the call of even-handed Justice, who at length demands that the pecuniary burdens of the State should be laid exclusively on the shoulders of those who are rich enough to bear them. And it would be, in my opinion, an honourable sacrifice on the part of any man of property, who should willingly consent to save his country by a tax proportioned to the means which each individual might possess of enjoying its comforts, although he should thereby render himself poorer than he were before.

I am a friend to the abolition of capital punishments, to a general revision of the criminal code, and to the abolition of slavery. I will support the **LIBERTY of the PRESS**, a bill to protect children from ill-usage in factories, a bill to protect animals against cruelty, and, in short, any measure calculated to humanize the people, and lay the foundation for a sound public morality, believing such to be the surest means of improving the happiness of society, and of removing those obstacles to the operation of intelligence which have so long stood in the way of just and enlightened legislation. I am friendly to a

revision, but not to the total destruction, of the corn-laws; desirous to depend chiefly on home culture, and to see the labourers of England fully employed.

On similar grounds I object to the introduction of certain kinds of machinery in factories, instead of the labour of the hand; and I feel convinced that any scheme that impels the bark of merchandise onward with a forced velocity, and leaves unemployed pauperism to starve in the wake, may tend to enrich particular monopolists, but is inconsistent with the general good.

If affluent men would unite cordially in such a plan of public virtue, founded on financial sacrifice, as I should propose, and of their willingness to do which this mode of taxation would be an indication, the loom and the shuttle would again be set a going; trade would flourish; and the appalling cry of hunger being silenced in our streets, our statesmen might discuss in security all other subordinate reforms and improvements. Let those, therefore, who are attached to the land ploughed by their forefathers, rally round the **STANDARD OF EQUITABLE TAXATION**, by whomsoever it may be unfurled; and then may we again see the scythe and the sickle wielded for the support of the **MANY**, and not for the superfluity of the **FEW**; then will the haycock and the wheat-sheaf be surveyed with secure delight; our barns will be filled, our markets brisk, our bags full of money, and the toil of the field in summer being repaid by the comforts of the winter's fireside, our peasantry will be contented and grateful; while the landlord will be satisfied on the lower terms, by virtue of the punctuality of payment, and will rejoice at the picture of rural happiness, which he shall see spread around him.

An opportunity which may never be recalled is at hand, in which you are invited to choose who shall be the legal instruments for securing to you, by the law of the land, these your just rights by the law of nature. New conditions of election have now arisen; and you will consult your interest in *not* giving any promises till you see who appears in the field. Exercise then your privilege with courage; and convince the world that the **BALLOT** is not yet necessary to shield the independence of an Englishman's vote; and having done your duty, rest with the reflection that the blessings of peace and prosperity at home, and of foreign commerce abroad, may be yet showered down on this long-oppressed country, in a larger measure than the past neglect of our interests has deserved; if honest men, fearless of influence, will consent, however late in the day, to let their heads be guided by practical wisdom, and will open their hearts in sentiments of justice and of charity.

I am, Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient servant,  
**T. FORSTER.**

London, July 10, 1832.

2, Catherine-street, Strand,  
London.

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